1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*quagidla*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2-1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter.

224 [868]

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it.

224 787

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences.

224 782 539

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

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Freedom in the use of names is a Havasupai peculiarity, for in most tribes of this area reluctance is shown to telling one's name. This is characteristic of the Yavapai, Navaho, Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, Klamath, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni. Lowie thinks it probably a widespread and deep-rooted Shoshonean feature. The Moapa do not name the dead in a relative's presence. This is then no more than the Havasupai reluctance and not the abhorrence of the Navaho and Western Apache.

Instruction of Children

Instruction is quite sporadic and incidental. So far as their elders express what they consider proper formal instruction, it is objurgation and admonition to behave and to be industrious.

Children are taught to talk and walk. When they begin to walk, we tell them: "Go fetch this thing for me;" thus telling the names of objects. Then they will know how to talk as people do. When girls begin to talk, their mothers instruct them how to fetch water and wood: "That is the way I carry things." They teach them to grind corn: "When growing things are ripe, you must gather them. That is what a woman does. When you are grinding for the first time, look for the rat's burrow and observe how he has piled up the dirt at the entrance; then when you grind corn or seeds, make your pile of meal a little larger than that." When the girl is old enough to marry, her mother tells her, "When you marry, do not loiter about the house, but bustle around gathering plenty to grind so you will not starve. You should have plenty of corn, pigweed and *stit'* seeds, pinon nuts, mescal, and prickly pear." That is how an old mother teaches her daughter when she is ready for marriage. If women gather plenty to eat, they will prosper. "When you are married and have a camp of your own, do not be angry if someone comes to your house, and do not fail to give them some of whatever food you have. Do not be angry with your husband's relatives. If you are, they will all say, 'Your wife is no good.' They should not have cause to say this. You should be good to all of them, then they will all be good to you and care for you. They will help your husband make a good living for you."

They instruct the boys similarly. When a boy begins to walk and talk, they tell him, "You will have to gather armsful of wood or fetch water. When you are playing about, do things just as you will when you are grown. You should now hunt rabbits so that later when you are older and hunt deer, you will be able to kill them. If you are able to bring home deer every day, those who are wise will say, 'He is a pretty good boy.'"

Sometimes, although they instruct a boy, he disobeys; he is lazy, and that is wrong. "If you are lazy you will not have anything; you will be poor." The old men taught the boys, showing them how to make their garments and the woman's dress. After they were instructed, they made some for themselves. Then when a boy married, he knew how to make a dress and moccasins for his wife. That is how the old people used to instruct them.

When my father was alive he taught me everything just as he had been told when young. "Do thus to straighten an arrow, thus to make a bow or arrowheads, to

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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feather the arrows, to bind them with sinew, just as I do: then you can carry them 868
hunting and kill game. Do just as I: I will not live much longer. Or, when I am old and blind, I will not be able to make any more for you, so you had best learn quickly. This too is the way I make moccasins, pants, shirts, and leggings. I will teach you everything I know about things to wear. If I were a boy like you, and my old maternal grandfather was telling me about these things, I would do as he said."

A boy is instructed to run toward the dawn as far as he can before turning back. He carries a short slow-match. Hardly has he started to [751]
return, when he touches it to ankles, knees, wrists, and elbows to keep them from becoming rheumatic, and throws it back over his head. Recovering it, he runs on home. This is in order that he may readily recall a forgotten article before he is far from camp. He continues this practice through manhood, (?) running at each of his wife's illnesses (p. 326).[1]

When I [Sinyella] was about six years old, my father said, "Do not sleep after sunrise; wake as soon as daylight appears. Run toward the dawn. You should do this every day. Run out as far as you can. Do not walk; run. Do this always when you are a young man too; then you will be able to run fast, and when you race with someone you will win. If you do not, you will be beaten." I did this all the time [843]
and I washed my face and eyes. He said, "When you wash, your sight will be sharp; then you can see the game—rabbits lying under the bushes, or deer visible only through an opening among the trees. If you do not wash every morning, you will miss seeing a deer, even though he stands close to you; he will scare you when he bounds off. That is what they told me when I was as old as Lanas [six]. Later when I was as old as my youngest son [twenty] I made both men and women's clothing. By that time I know how to do all these things. Every morning I ran toward the daylight, so I became a good runner. I could beat the Hopi and Navaho when I was a young man. They told me this when I was a boy and I did it, and it was as they said. But now I am getting old and I can not walk or work fast; my legs are getting weak.

He told me how to ride my horse in chasing deer. I shot them from horseback while running. "If you have good horses you can do just as we did," they said. "If you live as we tell you, you will live to be an old man. When you have children, 867
tell them the same as I told you. When you are very old, blind, and your limbs are weak, your son can carry you. You can use a cane; one of your sons can lead you by it. When you are old and toothless, they can put mashed corn and meat into your mouth, and take good care of you just as though you were a little baby."

My father said, "When you are a young man and feel strong, you can travel about to get anything you need. You can visit other tribes to trade for things to make a good living: horses, buckskins, or other goods, or things to eat. By and by when you are old you will not have good things any longer." That is what I was told and I have no good things now.

Since success in hunting depends more on skill than on charms, 868
explicit instruction is given to the boy. His father or paternal grand-

[1] Practising running and breaking off branches is referred to in myths. The San Carlos boy is also taught by his father to run and to break branches (Hrdlička, 6[1], 401). The Jicarilla-Mescalero puberty custom is somewhat comparable (Dixon, 6[1], 216). Mohave and Southern Ute fathers similarly run after the birth of a child, the latter breaking off branches (Lowie, 11, 263). [773] [171]

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868 father is the proper guide, but (paternal ?) uncles may offer casual instruction. Nicely made bows are sometimes presented by a grandfather, and all seasons, particularly the autumn when the quail abound, see the boys practising marksmanship. While boys are still young they are taught by precept. They were first taken hunting when about ten years old, shown the deer tracks and "parks", how the game stands and walks, and how to crawl up to it and shoot. Boys of this age are cautioned not to smoke until they have killed their first coyote.[1] When a youth first [224] kills a deer unassisted, he lets it lie, returning home to fetch his grandfather, or some other ancient. The old man flays and butchers it, and he, not the boy, eats the cooked liver.[2]

Little girls help their mothers at household duties when their brothers of equal age are roaming from home in sport. They accompany their mothers to the fields to gather corn, to the orchards to prepare peaches, etc., and assist by carrying little loads of produce and wood, fetching water, and tending the babies. Adolescent girls remain under their [887] mothers' eye and do not go about the canyon freely.

Basket making is taught to girls of seven to nine years. As attendance at the government school interferes with the old process of training, [648] it is difficult to observe today what progress may be: a girl of sixteen made an execrable basket; three years later her work was average. A left-handed girl has also been taught.[3]

Dance and gaming songs, which have no esoteric character, are picked up by quite young children. It is a common thing to hear them sing snatches, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. One boy of five had quite an extensive repertoire. Children of eight or nine [852] take part in the dance and without much hesitation join in the singing.

Women dance and sing as well as men do, yet they do not have any periods of dance practice.

538 Although young children may listen to stories on a winter's evening, [868] Manakadja stated that no serious effort is made to engage their attention until they are ten or twelve years old. This informant and Sinyella were each told the tales by an uncle (probably an elder brother of the father) when boys. Men of fifty or sixty pretend not to know the tales sufficiently

[171] [1]The Pima have the same custom [Russell, (d), 116]. Pueblo boys are forbidden to smoke lest it make cowards of them, or as at Cochiti, lessen their ability to run [Dumarest, 144; Parsons, (f), 9]. Smoking is connected with warrior status. I vaguely recall having read that killing a coyote is also a requisite, but cannot now find a reference to this.

[2]Among the Paviotso of Humboldt Lake a youth does not eat his kill (rabbits, etc.) until he has brought down his first large game (e.g., deer). He carries home the hide to his father, who makes a throw loop from it, which he throws over the boy. He may then eat the flesh [Hopkins, 50]. A Shasta boy does not eat his kill until a year or more after he begins to hunt, else he would lose his luck [Dixon, (b), 432].

[3]Hrdlička, (d), 485, notes that San Carlos girls are taught twined weaving first, later coiling.

horse-racing. All the afternoon, as I have sat at my work, a group of eight women, some young, some middle-aged, and one old, have gambled without cessation for five solid hours. Two young mothers had their babies — surely not more than two to three months old — and the youngest of the women was one of these mothers, and she could not have been more than eighteen years of age. Girls gamble at *Hui-to-qui-chi-ka* for safety-pins, and boys for knives and the like, so that now it is a vice which has affected every individual of the tribe. 541 525

The Havasupai children are expert ball tossers. With three or four small melons they rival the conjurers and jugglers of our vaudeville shows in feats of dexterity, keeping three or more balls in the air at the same time. 526

Boys and girls alike run around in the fiercest rain, their feet and legs wet and the few clothes they have on absolutely soaked. The idea of changing them has never seemed to enter their primitive minds, and without care, without a fire, unless he chooses to build one, the youngster gets along as best he may. It is a case of the weaker going to the wall, for here only the strong can survive. 855

There is very little attempt on the part of their parents to control them. They are generally allowed to do as they choose. I have often seen a little girl take a cigarette from between her father's lips, give it a few puffs, and return it, he all the while either indifferent to or unconscious of the act.

The close proximity of Havasu Creek and its large ponds or reservoirs, made by the irrigation dams, naturally suggests that they are swimmers. Observation [487] 526 868

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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526 confirms this. From earliest childhood they are expert
868 swimmers, boys and girls alike learning the art often before they can walk. I have seen mere babies placed in the creek and ditches by their parents and older brothers, and one can scarcely say they are taught to paddle, for it seems to come instinctively. There is not a child in the village who cannot swim and dive expertly, and there is no greater fun than to expend a dozen nickels by throwing them into one of the reservoirs and having the children dive for them. Sometimes they can be induced to bring the coins up in their teeth, even picking them in that manner from the sandy bed of the reservoir. They are as expert swimmers as the children of the South Seas. No Kanaka going out to meet an incoming steamer could ride the billows more daringly than the boys and girls of the Havasu swim in the rapid currents of their little stream. I have been with them to-day for a couple of hours. The boys dived into deep water and rose and fell like loons. I amused myself by throwing a stone into ten or more feet of water, and four or five of the boys would dive for it and get it almost as quickly as I could throw it. It was no sooner in than it was out again. One of the little girls, a sister of one of the boys, stood watching the sport. She became so interested that, suddenly, without removing her calico dress, she jumped into the deep place and enjoyed the fun with the rest.

526 Then, a Havasupai man, riding a burro, brought the
231 animal down into the stream where it was shallow and had a gravelly bed. For an hour he and the boys amused themselves by swimming back and forth through the deep pool, and every now and again one or another would jump on the creature's back and, hanging on,

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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The process of making strands or splints of the willows is a very simple and primitive one. Here as I sit writing (Sept. 14, 1901), Chickapanagie's squaw has a lot of willow shoots before her. Taking hold of one end of the splint in her teeth, she pulls away the cuticle with her fingers. These alone are her tools, and it is astonishing the rapidity and regularity with which the process is accomplished. 285

As soon as a girl can frame her fingers to the work of basket making she is required to begin. It is very interesting to watch the small children in their endeavors to make the rougher baskets, and then, as they grow in skill, try the finer work. Pul-a-gas'-a-a is not more than eight years of age, and yet a basket — kü-ü— she brought to me was one of her own make, and it now occupies a place in my collection. The work is irregular and crude, but shows skill, and if the child has patience to stick to it, in time she will become one of the most accomplished basket makers of the tribe. 285 868

As soon as possible after attaining puberty the Havasupai girls marry; generally between the ages of thirteen and fourteen. The parents themselves urge these early marriages. Whether they fear the loss of virtue in their daughters from evil white men, or the degenerate young men of their own tribe, I do not know, but several parents have told me that the sooner their girls marry, after they are marriageable, the better pleased they are. 582

Marriage is generally arranged by purchase. When a young man sets his affections upon any particular girl, he contrives to show his preference for her, and, as soon as he finds that his attentions are agreeable, he visits his fair one's father or nearest male relative, and 584

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. 868 No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 856

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
514 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without
[834] pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

● 869 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old,
[177] when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work, but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children. 866 of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her 868 mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment. 524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in 533 former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. [177] Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. [237] A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. [386] A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width.

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. [562] A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. [492] Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868

857 868 492 [553] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than [524] two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with 857 868 him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.
[535]

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
[586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

● 868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[516] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [515] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [522] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters 882 very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [525] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

515 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 423 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. 171 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. 115 127